Chapter 1
CHAPTER 1
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON GENDER AND WOMEN
POLICING AS A PROFESSION

Theoretical aspects of gender and social control issues arose in lieu of feminist movement and women's legal representation in law enforcement positions. The 'core concern' is that complete social order and solidarity cannot be attained by neglecting the very basis and rights of women in policy-making positions. According to Frances Heidensohn-four distinctive areas can be mapped out which can be mined for their conceptual treasures and insights. These areas have to be elaborated with reference to women and law enforcement issues across different climes.

- The classical sociological core
- The new sociology of control
- The new policing studies
- The new sociology of welfare

The Classical Sociological Core:

Sociological core attempts to highlight the theoretical basis of social order. For Karl Marx, order was achieved by the systematic exploitation of one class by another and by appropriation of their labour. It was an enforced order, which by inevitable historical processes collapse under its own contradictions. Hence, women were targeted as the same group
of people who's subjugation could lead to final dominance or authority of males. The advent of police, introduced by Sir Robert Peel in 1829 envisaged a vocation exclusively geared to the male domain. In highly patriarchal societies like England and India and partially in USA [related to ethnic women] where women's crimes were related to prostitution or reproduction, there seemed to be no apparent reason or need for representation of women in law enforcement. It comes really close to Marxist hegemony. Comeau (1990:11) sees patriarchy as a political system of control that serves the purpose of the capitalist economic system. By controlling the reproduction powers of women, men ensure a control over labour force².

Durkheim emphasized and first identified social solidarity as central to the maintenance of order and divided it into mechanical form, characteristic of pre-industrial societies and the organic form in differentiated modern societies, where cohesion is obtained through functional interlinking and division of labour³. These core aspects created grounds for research linked to women's issues and 'cohesion in society' later.

Max Weber viewed social control in any society as exercised by legitimate authority. To him, legitimacy is derived from different types of social action: Affective, Traditional and Rational. These actions give motives for
support and basis for his three types of authority: charismatic, traditional and rational legal⁴. Thus, sociology was moving towards a more radical and modern approach that further gave insights into gender and reformative studies.

The New Sociology of Social Control:

This emphasizes on the Janowitz’s argument in an article published in 1975. The term social control was properly applied only to self regulatory not to coercive forms of control. Its original use was to describe self-control, not use of power by one group over the other. In the wake of earlier theories, a new sociology of social control has developed which focused particularly on the patterns and changes in social control in pre and modern western societies.

In the works of Michel Focault and of Scull Iga Atieff and Cohen [1977,1978,1985], the disciplinary institutions of modern societies, the penentiary, the asylum, and the community punishment are all excavated to reveal trends, particularly the dispersal of discipline and the dynamic interrelations. What was very surprising was the lack of observance of gender dimension on the part of theorists on gender control⁵.
The New Policing Studies:
Systematic research on policing has a relatively short history, although its volume has grown dramatically in modern times. The detailed perusal of policing historically, procedurally and even philosophically has considerably added to our understanding of what policing is all about, what role police officers play in maintaining law and order in modern state. A large body of work on the subject has emphasized the importance of professional skills in the maintenance of order.

The New Sociology of Welfare:
In a thoughtful paper published in 1980, Higgins noted the growth of interest in the relationship between social control and social policy. She suggested then that social control theories applied to social policies were revealing many controlling aspects of Welfare institutions. She suggested three current reasons for this development: the growth of Marxist thought, urban studies and radical social work techniques.

The Sociology of Sex and Gender
One key modern development that has had a significant impact on our understanding of social processes and institutions has been the re-discovery of the sociology of gender. A trend report suggests that ‘the study of gender is an important means through which sociology itself is re-shaped’. As Maynard points out, gender perspectives have only been a
mainstream concern in sociology for a relatively short period of time. A major research project on education and social mobility conducted in 1970's and published in 1980 surveyed only male subjects thus rendering it defective not only because it fails to cover the experience of women but it limits the possible comparisons with males. While gender studies are by no means secure, yet in sociology they have broadened and enhanced the subject. Many sociologists begin from the assumption that human behavior is largely directed and determined by culture, which is the learned behavior shared by the members of that society. Thus, norms, values and roles are culturally determined and socially transmitted. From this perspective gender roles are a product of their culture rather than biology. Individuals learn their respective male and female roles. The sexual division of labour is supported and justified by a belief and value system which states that gender roles are normal natural right and proper.

**Biological Theories or Myths on Women Labour:**

This section of the thesis will entail the age-old theories regarding women and work related issues, followed by brief description on cultural division of labour.

*Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox- the human bio-grammar.*

Anthropologists Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox argue that social scientists
who assume that human beings behave simply in terms of the culture of their society are ignoring what they call human 'bio-grammar'. The Bio-grammar is a genetically based program, which predisposes mankind to behave in a certain way. Although the bio-grammars of men and women are similar in many respects, there are important differences between them as claimed by the proponents of this theory.

Tiger and Fox argue that compared to women, men are more aggressive and dominant. These characteristics are genetically based; in particular they result from differences between male and female hormones. These differences are partly due to genetic inheritance from man’s primate ancestors and partly due to a genetic adaptation of hunting way of life. They are responsible for the protection of the band and for alliances or wars with other bands. Thus, men monopolize the 'position of power'. Since Tiger and Fox see dominance as a 'sex linked characteristic', it seemingly suggests the over-laden myths surrounding the very aspect of progressive womanhood.

By comparison, women are programmed by their bio-grammars to reproduce and care for children. Tiger and Fox contend that the basic family unit consists of mother and child. In their words, nature intended the mother and child to be together. Hence, the division of labour is totally accounted for in favour of a woman within confines of their homes.
and the male geared up to seek for the family.

George Peter Murdock—biology and practicality:

Though anthropologists like Tiger and Fox and George Peter Murdock operate from very different assumptions. They view biological differences between men and women as the basis of sexual division of labour in society. However, he does not suggest that men and women are directed by genetically based predispositions or characteristics to adopt their particular roles. Instead, he simply suggests that biological differences, such as the greater physical strength of men and the fact that women bear children, lead to gender roles out of sheer practicality.

In a cross cultural survey of two twenty four societies ranging from hunting and gathering bands to modern nation states, Murdock examines the activities assigned to men and women. He finds tasks such as hunting, lumbering and mining to be predominantly male roles, cooking, gathering wild vegetable products, water carrying and making and repairing clothes to be largely female roles. He states that, 'man with his superior physical strength can better undertake more strenuous tasks, such as lumbering, mining, quarrying, land clearance and house building and not handicapped, as is woman by the physiological burdens of pregnancy and nursing'. Hence, the advantages inherent in a division of labour by sex presumably account for its universality.
Talcott Parsons- biology and the ‘expressive’ female:

Similar arguments are advanced to account for the role of women in industrial society. Talcott Parsons sees the isolated nuclear family in modern industrial society specializing in two basic functions: the socialization of the young and the stabilization of adult personalities. Parsons characterizes the woman’s role in the family as ‘expressive’, which means she provides warmth security and emotional support. This is essential for effective socialization of the young. It is only a short step from applying these expressive qualities to her children to applying them also to her husband. The male breadwinner spends his working day competing in an achievement-oriented society. This ‘instrumental’ role leads to stress and anxiety. The expressive female relieves this tension by providing the weary breadwinner with love, consideration and understanding. Hence, existing biological differences account for a bond of familial solidarity within societies.

The Cultural Division of Labour:

Ann Oakley:

Ann Oakley, a British sociologist and a supporter of the women’s liberation movement comes down strongly on the side of culture as a determinant of gender roles. She expressed, ‘Not only is the division of labour by sex not universal but there is no reason why it should be’. Human cultures are diverse and endlessly variable and they owe their
creation to human inventiveness rather than invincible biological forces. Oakley reviews the arguments made by George Peter Murdock on sexual division of labour being universal and the tasks of male-female divided as per their functional roles. She claims this aspect of Murdock being biased and western in approach typecasting the role of women in terms of 'expressive' rather than both a combination of expressive and instrumental functions.

Oakley examines a number of societies in which biology appears to have little or no influence on women's roles. The Mbuti pygmies, a hunting and gathering society who live in the Congo rain forests, have no specific rules of the division of labour by sex. Men and women hunt together. The role of father and mother are not differentiated, both sexes sharing the responsibility for the care of children. Amongst the Australian aborigines of Tasmania, both men and women were responsible for seal hunting, fishing and catching opossums [tree dwelling mammals].

Turning to present-day societies, Oakley notes that women form an important part of many armed forces, particularly those of China, Russia, Cuba and Israel. In India, some 12% of labourers on building sites are females. Hence, Oakley claims that the above examples show that there are no 'exclusively' female roles and that biological characteristics do not bar women from particular jobs. She regards the
supposed' biologically based incapacity of women to carry out heavy and demanding work' as a myth.

Oakley also attacks the argument of 'Parsons and Bowlby' by pointing to the Kibbutz to show that the systems other than the family and the female mother role can effectively socialize the young\textsuperscript{11}. She notes that a large body of research shows that the employment of mother has no detrimental effects on child's development. Some studies indicate that the children of working mothers are less likely to be delinquent than those of mothers staying at home. In fact, Oakley claims that, 'working mothers enjoy their children more and are less irritable with them than full time mothers'

Oakley comments on Parsonian viewpoint as promoting a biased system of beliefs centering the life of a woman around expressive domains. She argues that expressive housewife mother role is not necessary for the functioning of the family unit. It merely exists for the convenience of men. She further claims that Parson's explanation of gender roles is simply a validating myth for the domestic oppression of women. Hence, Ann's expression is a positive recourse of a sublime womanhood to an all-encompassing wider domain of talents and innate strengths.
Ernestine Friedl-Male Dominance and The Sexual Division of Labour:

In ‘Women and Men: An Anthropological View’, Ernestine Friedl provides another explanation for the sexual division of labour and male dominance. Like Oakley, she supports a cultural explanation noting the great variation in gender roles between societies. For example she observes that in some societies, activities such as weaving, pottery making and tailoring are thought to be ‘naturally’ men’s tasks, in other’s women’s. However it is significant that in societies where men perform such tasks, these carry higher prestige than in the ones where they are performed by their female counterparts. Friedl views this as a reflection of male dominance, which she maintains, exists to some degree in all societies. She defines ‘male dominance’ as a situation in which males have highly preferential access, although not always exclusive rights to those activities to which society accords the greatest value and the exercise of which permits measure of control over others.’

She further comments that the degree of male dominance is a consequence of the frequency with which men have greater rights than women to distribute goods outside the domestic group. This activity brings great prestige and power to the men section. She verified it by examining a few hunting and gathering societies. Hence, Friedl’s ideas are novel and interesting and reveal a fascinating interplay between biology and culture.
Sherry B. Ortner: Devaluation Of Women:

A rather unique and interesting feature and explanation for the subordinate status of women is presented by Sherry B. Ortner. She attempts to provide a general explanation for the universal devaluation of women. Ortner claims that it is not female biology as such that ascribes women to their status in society but the way in which every culture defines and evaluates female biology. Thus, if this universal evaluation is changed it could help attempt alteration in female subordination perspectives.

The universal evaluation of culture seen as superior to women is the basis for the women subordination and their overall devaluation. Women are seen closer to nature than to culture; hence devalued and inferior as compared to men. Their natural functioning and processes related to reproduction, fertility amounts to their basic affinity to natural functional roles such as mothering of an infant. Hence, institutions such as family system associated more with the expressive task of women is seen closer to nature and institutions such as politics, warfare, religion, more of culture and hence, a task for men.

Though, Ortner's argument contains certain inadequacies it does contain an important merit. It provides for a universal explanation for a universal phenomenon, the second class status of women.13
Women And Industrialization-A Historical Perspective

Ann Oakley has traced the changing status of women in British society from the eve of the industrial revolution to the 1970's. She claims that, the most enduring consequence of industrialization for women has been the emergence of the modern role of housewife as the dominant mature feminine role.

During the early stages of industrialization, which Oakley dates from 1750 to 1841, the factory steadily replaced the family as the unit of production. Women were employed in factories where they often continued their traditional work in textiles. The first major change which affected their status as wage earners was a series of factory acts beginning in 1819, which gradually restricted child labour. As a consequence, children became increasingly dependent on women thus heralding their dependence in marriage and their restriction to home.

Later, till the advent of 'First World War', a combination of pressure from male workers and philanthropic reformers restricted female employment in industries. Women were seen by many male factory workers as a threat to their employment.

Victorian Ideology, particularly the versions of the upper and middle classes, stated that a women's place was in the home. Queen Victoria
announced, ‘Let women be what god intended, A helpmate for man, but with totally different vocations and duties’\textsuperscript{15}. Oakley concludes that though in these years Women did attain certain legal political rights, it did have its consequences as a three-way impact. Firstly, the separation of men from the daily domestic life; secondly, the increasing economic dependence of women and children on men and thirdly, the isolation of housework and child work from other work.

**Sociology, Ideology and Women**

Two factors have been primarily responsible for the development of sociology of women. First, the definition of women’s position in society as a social problem and second, the reassessment of women as people who are just as important as men. In the case of women, changes in society and in particular the women’s liberation movement have led to the emergence of sociology of women as a subject area in its own right.

Before dwelling further into the key issues involving women and their participation in law enforcement positions, it is important to discern and analyze the following in terms of theoretical understanding:

- Theorizing Gender
- Feminist Perspective
- Gender and control\textsuperscript{16}
Theorizing gender

'Gender' refers to the socially constructed characteristics of masculinity and femininity. In all societies, expectations differ as to the gender roles and they also alter overtime and within cultures, differing by class ethnic groups etc. Initially, the approach towards the study of women’s issues were mainly biological, Freud being one of its early proponents.

More recently, theoretical concern has been firstly to explore the constituents of gender; both masculine and feminine, and assess how far assumptions which have been taken for granted can be tested. Secondly, there is a problem of where gender fits into general social theory: Are gender divisions all pervasive? How are they explained? Can they be understood in terms of other distinctions, class or race for example?

Effectively, only Feminist scholars have made progress beyond this point. They have, in some forms of feminist thought, presented the most radical challenges so far made to the assumptions about gender so that, even if the theoretical explanations of gender have not fully developed these attempts to pose certain key questions which are relevant for the understanding of gender issues.
**Feminist Perspective:**

As has been explained above Feminist perspective evolved certain relevant questions: to combat the mystery of theoretical appeal to study women. Carol Smart, in a sharp critique of contemporary, cul-de-sac criminology, takes Hardings framework of three feminist social science perspective. Hardings categories are: Feminist Empiricism, Standpoint Feminism and Post modern Feminism.

All these approaches have in common that they see their subjects from a feminist, a woman-centered perspective, but they differ in how they are achieved? Feminine empiricists are on the whole committed to the study of men as well as women’s standpoint. Feminism springs from struggles against women’s oppression. Postmodern Feminism is the term used to describe the *fractured multiply split* approach engendered by the collapse of sisterhood and Marxism. She suggests the use of Feminist Empiricism as it attempts a broader and a more realistic explanation to women’s issues.

**Gender and Control:**

Frances Heidensohn in his work on ‘women and control’ has addressed the present debate on various aspects of gender and control. He explores that feminist writers of almost all persuasions have addressed this matter and have focused particularly on male oppression of women in
public and private settings and through both formal and informal agencies.

Many empiricist feminist criminologists, for instance, see the criminal justice system as oppressive of women as both victims and perpetrators of crimes. Edwards argued [1984] that women were medicalized and infantilized by courts; Adler, that rape victims were harshly treated, despite supposedly protective legal changes. The Dobashes were amongst the first to point out that domestic violence was a crime that went largely unpunished, while men believed that they had a right to chastise and discipline their wives [1979].

In a more recent work, S. Edwards draws on extensive observations of police work shows how despite reforming policies, police values and structures help to victimize women twice over: first they suffer violence and then there is a failure to punish the perpetrators [1987]. In particular, inequality between men and women, especially economically and politically is seen as the explanation for male dominance and female submission.

According to Stanko, Fear of crime, much stronger in women than men and in older than younger people, is in itself a control device in our society. Crime prevention from a feminist perspective necessarily
includes a direct challenge to men’s dominance in all spheres of everyday life. In part, this means challenging traditional notions of masculinity, promoting women’s economic, sexual and political independence.

The key theme of this extensive range of work is that female victimization by males is an important aspect of their oppression even in advanced democratic societies. Hence, the earlier works all tend to assume that violence is used by males against females and that domination and subordination are the respective goals. The primary focus is on constraints caused by violence and its attendant fears, and on formal agencies such as the police and the courts. What seems to stem out of the basic ignorance is completely making the above liable for female conformity at present. But there are various other social institutions too that help promote the same.

With a few exceptions, men make attempt to control women at all levels. What still remains largely unexplored is the use of gender as a mechanism for social control. The ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ ideal types of control can be identified in formal and informal agencies and that recent years have seen significant shifts in their development. ‘Social control’ should not be seen as unidirectional, but rather as the final result of conflicting interests, demands and activities. Women’s experiences are the focus of this study, but the context is more diffused
and fragmented. It includes various ways of considering social control and attempt to explore gender in its numerous forms. The simple role model of 'woman' should be rejected on grounds of the absolute definition of her as 'a passive, accepting and non-resistant'. Women have always resisted, sought ways and directions to carve a role for themselves and constructed new ways of doing things.

According to Pitch:

*The peculiar position of 'women as women' makes them crucial in the production and management of social control in contemporary western societies. Their work, both within and outside family-in the context of a changed family and of different policies of social control-as well as their new public and political presence as collective actors has led them to play pivotal roles in the definition, construction and management of social problems.*

Women have for long been playing a significant part in the maintenance of order in society. Whether it be nurturing and tending their young ones or supporting and caring for all the dependents and other members of the household. Morality and values often ascribed to 'what we learnt at our mother's knees'. It has been an established fact that just as 'proper' families consist of mother and father, similarly any system that seems to be effective towards the complete harmony of society at large needs due
cooperation and support of both male and female participants. And law enforcement positions are no exceptions to this rule.

By the end of nineteenth century, therefore, women were playing an increasing role, in some ways leading part in certain kinds of social control. While some were fronting traditional activities, others had very much chosen their sphere, however, they felt that, they as women brought special qualities to it, and had in several areas invented or developed their own new roles and tasks.

**Research on Gender and Policing**

Several researches conducted on women and policing since early 1900 suggests that women policing was considered an important platform for women's representation and issues related to the effect. Dr. Deborah Tannen, an expert on gender differences in communication has written many books including 'you don't just understand'. In it, she describes the research that demonstrates how men and women focus in different ways while communicating with others. These differences are evident in childhood and continue through life. This research was applied successfully in various situations of present day 'community policing' that requires more communication than traditional 'fierce' policing. Tannen further stated that women should focus on intimacy to achieve connection and men should focus on independence to achieve status.
In terms of necessity of employing women, Schulz pointed out that women have always entered into law enforcement as a result of outside lobbying not because the agencies needed them. According to another researcher Jan Dumais who was also a police officer at some stage, the monetary reasons dominated any other aspect of possessing women in the force. It wasn't a noble venture for the department but motivated by purely financial reasons as women had to be paid lesser earlier as compared to men.

Moreover, many women are discouraged from applying to law enforcement agencies because of their aggressive and authoritarian image, an image based on the outdated paramilitary model of law enforcement that is still in widespread use. Once on the job, women often face discrimination, harassment, intimidation and are maliciously thwarted especially as they move up the ranks. On this count till to this date, no research has shown that strength is related to an individuals ability to successfully manage a dangerous situation. (Balkin,J) 19

Comeau (1984) found that female attrition within police organizations was influenced primarily by three factors: marriage, societal expectations of women as home makers and primary caretakers within the family unit and unsuitability or inability to perform related duties. But the present
research studies has given different paradigms or basis to combat the above situations for aspiring women officers.\textsuperscript{20}

According to a senior policewomen Dr. Kiran Bedi who successfully completed her PhD thesis on ‘Prison reforms in India’ argues that empowerment of women is not economic empowerment alone. It is a larger question of maturity, dignity and the ability not to look down upon herself.” Hence, several researches both in India and abroad have focused on various dimensions of police work where women could successfully be incorporated. It is just a matter of time the then insights are actually incorporated into police and related institutions.

**Concept of Self and Woman Empowerment:**

**Socio-Psychological Theories.**

Certain Socio-Psychological theories attempt a better and relevant insight about women and work related issues as embedded more in Socio-Psychological roots than emerging purely from societal standards. Hence, a few of its insightful features are highlighted below:

*Role dynamics:*

Role refers to ‘any relatively standardized social position, involving specific rights and obligations which an individual is expected or encouraged to perform. ‘Roles’ may be specific, diffused, ascribed or
achieved. In functionalism the theory of 'role' stresses the normative expectations attached to particular positions and the way in which roles are associated with institutions. The emphasis is on the acquisition and enacting of behaviour patterns determined by norms and rules.

Robert King Merton suggested a notion of 'role set', to refer to the range of social relationships associated with a given status. His concept of role conflict is the most specific theory to account for the changes in self of womanhood. It is recognized that an individual is likely to encounter tensions [role conflict] in coping with the requirements of incompatible roles, in the case of police women conflict between expressive and instrumental roles i.e. role clashes between a mother, woman and policewoman.

George Herbert Mead 21 from his symbolic interaction theory developed the concept of 'self' and 'role taking'. He elaborates that through the process of 'role taking' the individual develops a concept of 'self'. By placing herself in the position of others she is able to look back upon herself. He further argues that the 'self' can further develop if the individual 'can get out of herself'. To do this she must observe herself from the standpoint of others. The notion of 'self' is not inborn. Mead sees two stages of development. The first known as 'the play stage', involves the child playing roles that were not her own like the, role of
father mother doctor nurse. In doing so she becomes aware that there is a difference between her and the role she's playing. Thus, the idea of self is developed as the child takes through make believe the role of other.

The second stage known as, the game stage', playing the game the child comes to see herself from the perspective of the various participants. Hence in Mead’s view, the development of the consciousness of self is an essential part of the process of becoming a human being. It provides the basis for thought and action and the foundation for human society.

*Gender: Maleness or Femaleness As a crucial Aspect of identity*

Gender refers to everything else associated with one’s sex, including the roles, behaviours, preferences, and other attributes that define what it means to be a male or female in a given culture. Perhaps, then, the most pervasive element of personal identity is that portion of personal identity that assigns us into two categories: male or female. An example of interaction of genetics and learning occurs when physical attributes are interpreted as indications of masculinity and femininity. Presumably as a result of learned stereotypes, a muscular build and a deep voice are perceived as attributes of masculinity, while long hair and a high voice are perceived as feminine attributes.
This is an important point of reference for the study of women Policing as theses carve a ground for essential stereotypes that act as a barrier both social and moral for women entrants to this profession.

*The Origin Of Gender Identity:*

Though all observed differences in the behavior of men and women were long assumed to be biological, it seems increasingly likely that 'many' typically masculine and feminine characteristics are acquired. Generally, children are rewarded for engaging in gender-appropriate behavior and discouraged or ridiculed when they engage in gender-inappropriate behaviour.

For example, on the basis of how adults, older siblings and others respond; a little girl learns that wanting a doll is acceptable but wanting 'boxing gloves' is not. In countless ways, a culture's gender stereotypes are learned. *Girls can cry, boys can fight. Boys can play football and girls jacks; they are both given different sets of clothes and assigned different household chores. As years go by these lessons are well learned and pass on to the next generations. Hence it begins at the roots and spreads on later to the professional and psychological domains of the society at large. Thus implicating in 'masculine' issues ascertained to [aggression, leadership, conflict and achievement] and 'Feminine' issues as Sex differences, gender stereotypes, sexism, harassment as an all pervasive*
coffee table issues for many a scholars and research persons or even 
society at large.

According to Sandra Bem [1968], defines masculinity in terms of 
attributes associated with an instrumental orientation [getting the job 
done] and feminine attributes associated with expressive orientation 
[affective welfare considerations].

'Androgynous Personality' 23 combines both traditional masculine and 
traditional feminine behavioural characteristics. Androgynous/Gender-
typed behavior suggests that much of the research on gender and 
gender roles has focused on androgyny. And the assumption is often 
made that an Androgynous role is preferable to either male or female 
gender type roles. Many past studies were consistent with the 
proposition that 'androgyny is good'. For example, compared to gender 
typed individuals, androgynous men and women were found to be better 
liked [Major, Carnevale, & Deoux 1981]; better adjusted; more prone to 
adjust to tougher professions [policing]; more adaptable to situation 
demands [Prager and Bailey 1985]; more flexible in coping with stress 
[Mcall & Suthers 1994]; more comfortable with their sexuality; more 
satisfied interpersonally [Rosenzweig and Dailey, 1989]; and in an elderly 
sample, more satisfied with their lives[dean -church and Gilroy, 1993]. 
Spouses report happier marriages when both the partners is
androgynous than if both are sex typed.

Strong adherence to traditional gender roles is often found to be associated with problems. For example, men who identify with the extreme masculine role behave more violently and aggressively than men who perceive themselves as having some feminine characteristics [Finn 1986] and both men and women who exhibit higher degrees of femininity are associated with lower esteem and failure to combat challenge both professional and interpersonal.

A research conducted by Subich and colleagues [1986] explored the significance of job status amongst both men and women. Compared to women men expressed more interest in the relatively unknown fields, had higher expectations of succeeding, and placed more stress on salary. Men hence stressed upon the extrinsic motive for choosing a job; women in contrast were more concerned about whether jobs would be personally gratifying, thus stressing intrinsic motives for the job.

Why do traditional gender roles remain powerful? The concept of male female differences and of male superiority has a long history. In the Judeo Christian tradition, men were originally identified as owners of their families [Wolf, 1992]. In the Jewish Talmud, categories of property included cattle, women and slaves. Hence these coupled along various other significant studies from the socio psychological perspective
gradually enlightened an arena suitable for women's empowerment at large.

**Sociological Theorists on Women and Work Related Issues:**

Representation of women in social control positions seemed not much of a probable hope of understood in the light of a typical cultural dogma of studied societies. Until recently, few sociologists gave serious and detailed consideration to the position of women in social control positions as per the cultural stereotypes prevalent within society. What seems as a specific theoretical sketch to the above has been explained by American sociologists.

'Theodore Caplow' who assigns following reasons for the relegation of women to the bottom of the occupational structure: Firstly he points to the primary status of women as mothers and housewives. As such, their careers are discontinuous due to the fact that they move out of the labour market to produce and rear children. Secondly, women are 'secondary breadwinners' as compared to the male family head. This encourages the attitude that is right and proper that women be paid less as compared to men. Thirdly, due to housewife-mother role, which ties wives to their husbands, women are less geographically mobile than men. The family is much more likely to move house, to follow the husband's career than that of wife. This helps to explain the link between
women and low status jobs, since a successful career often requires residential mobility. Fourthly, there are a large number of employable women, which, usually means that demand for work will exceed its supply. As a result, employers will not have to attract female labour with high wages, career opportunities and improved working conditions. Finally, there is a vast array of rules and statuses dealing with employment of women. These regulations limit their hours of work and bar them from many occupations, particularly the more strenuous. According to Caplow- Some of these statuses are 'designed for their protection', some intended to reduce their effectiveness as competitors and some adroitly contrived to both purposes at once'.

Sue Sharpe [1970] on Education and work orientation amongst women, states that the girl's priorities were low: Marriage, husbands, jobs and careers, more or less in this following order. In terms of education they were mostly steered towards arts subjects and directed particularly to cookery, needlework, housecraft, typing, commerce. By comparison boys were encouraged to take scientific and technical subjects. The girl's attitude to work reflected their school experience and the general cultural definitions of women's work. They are still 'schooled with marriage market in mind', although this might not be acknowledged consciously'. Office work was the most popular job choice, followed by a group of occupations, which included teachers, nurses, bank clerks and shop
assistants all the chosen occupations were safely within the realm of women's work.

She contends that the branded 'tough male like professions', like police, Mechanics, Engineers, Pilots etc due to lack of confidence, opportunities and the desire to challenge the strict dimensions of work. Attitudes, popular ideology and the economic and occupational structure all contribute to girls' inhibitions 25.

An important American study illustrates a crucial point in the transition from school to work. In the U.S.A, high school and college students discuss their career prospects and plans with counselors who were undergoing training. Despite the fact that the counselors denied any gender bias, their interviews with female students revealed considerable gender bias. As a general rule, counselors made forceful attempts to dissuade their female clients from entering masculine occupations.

Sue Sharpe concludes by making the following observations about women's journey. From cradle to job market, their upbringing in the family prepares them for 'femininity', their education reinforces the sex divisions through school organization, and the curriculum teaches them skills suitable for women's work in which they encounter some measure of discrimination throughout all parts of the occupational structure.
The Women's Liberation Movement:

The women's liberation movement emerged during the late 1960's primarily in America. For most of this century militant feminists have been fighting for civil rights, i.e. equality for all adults as citizens, regardless of sex. The battle for the legal emancipation of women has largely been won, at least on paper. At first sight it appears strange that the women's liberation movement should emerge at the very time when women's legal freedoms have been largely achieved. Emancipation is however not the same as liberation. Legal emancipation has highlighted the fact that women are far from free. There is a parallel between the women's liberation movement and the black power movement in U.S.A.

Juliet Mitchell argues that women's liberation movement was partly triggered by the radical movements of the middle and the late 1960's. There were series of paralleled movements coupled with women's movement that emerged and put forth questions regarding oppression and exploitation. Mitchell argued that they provided part of the impetus and philosophy for the women's liberation movement. Women increasingly realized that they needed a movement of their own, since even as members of other radical movements, they were often treated as in terms of their traditional stereotypes.
Raising consciousness and creating solidarity:

D.H.J. Morgan has applied the Marxian concepts of ideology, class-consciousness and class solidarity to the position of women in society. Just as class system is justified and legitimated by what may be termed male ideology. The ideology defines a woman’s place, how she should act, think and feel as a woman, and so maintains her subordination and justifies her exploitation. Just as ruling class ideology creates false class-consciousness, so male ideology produces what can be seen as false gender consciousness. From a Marxian perspective, class-consciousness and class solidarity are essential before the subject class can overthrow its oppressors. In terms of Marxian analogy, gender consciousness and female solidarity are necessary for women’s liberation.

Many feminist writers consider that both raising consciousness, that is making women aware of the reality of their situation, and female solidarity are essential preconditions for women’s liberation. Though Juliet Mitchell warns the dangers of consciousness raising sessions particularly in the context of middle class ‘ladies coffee mornings’. They may become an excuse for avoiding more radical and direct action. Put simply, they may become all show and no go. Female solidarity involves problems, which are peculiar to women. Many women are socially isolated and loyal to and dependent on particular men. These factors limit their ability to unite as a group in opposition to common enemy.
Policing as a Profession:

What constitutes a profession and how occupations become professions and what their impact is on society are all widely and vigorously debatable issues. [Johnson1972; Friedson1973; Wilding1982]. However, professionalism in policing has come to the fore only in recent times but is frequently claimed as an objective and also a justification. Professionalism in policing and how women define and use it in their own careers are defined by the standards of the organization.

There exists certain attributes that define policing as a profession but the extent to the explanation is a debatable issue. It has been explained and argued by Heidensohn that Policing is not a profession in the way other occupations are, such as Medicine and the law 27. One comparative study of public services concluded briskly, ‘the police have been ranked low on professionalization since on strict construction of the term, they lack any of the distinguishing characteristics of a profession’ [Day and Klein1987: 67]. The same study goes on to explore the paradox that police officers evoke professionalism in order to justify conduct and claim certain resources. Police authorities interviewed for a study of public accountability, were very skeptical of the notion of professionalism in policing and frequently sought to question decisions.
In short, even the idea of professionalism in policing has been contested. Policing is an activity bounded by the rule of law [Mc Barnet 1979]; yet at the same time, police officers have regularly to use their own judgment about when not to invoke full legal powers and procedures. Various attempts have been made, especially in the 1980’s and 1990’s to codify rules for police behaviour or to set measurable performance standards in policing.

Heindensohn’s study on the British and American policewomen reveals that professionalism is an essential component to demonstrate and prove their skills and tasks effectively furthering a sense of innate satisfaction. Hence, it could be ascertained that policing cannot strictly be codified under profession but the power of contribution and their access to welfare of the state in general makes it implicit to be categorized in a different category altogether and could be termed as profession. Thus it could be assessed from the above inferences on women and social control theories that power of perspective has undergone different phases. Each perspective gave way to a better or new insight leading on to an objective analysis of women studies. It is an impulsive on the part of the researcher to get carried away by one significant perspective, instead, to view all of the above relating to contemporaneous situation.
Comparison of Review of Literature

This study comprises of review of various available data, journals, literature and factual studies cross culturally. Besides an extensive fieldwork conducted both in India and USA has been an added authenticity to this work.

The researcher has further incorporated recorded data obtained from police departments, newspaper clippings and literature designed by former and senior police officers in India and USA. For additional information attempts have been made to give a new dimension to women policing by using historical film clippings on status of women professionals in both the countries. A brief comparative scenario of literature available has been properly analyzed and given below.

Theoretical framework

The Sociology of Occupation and Gender often makes a clear distinction between the terms job and career. One primary aspect that was found in the review of literature in both the settings is that women with careers enjoy more prestigious occupations and higher incomes than those with jobs. And policing is not just a job, its more than a time filler, a career with distinct value attached to by both the societies followed by rewards matched to the most 'professional jobs' in both the countries. Most
gender and occupation theorists have added the term for women and law enforcement as 'review of subjective and objective experiences in the lives of powerful women'. Coleman (1990) characterizes objective interests in lieu of the acquisition of financial resources (salary, benefits). Subjective more often pertains to inner satisfaction, acting self and more concentrated on deriving from the results of certain experiences. These are often known as 'intrinsic rewards' sought by many a women professionals in most male dominated professions.

*Imaging of women in male dominated professions*:

There has been a vast review of the above in the entire thesis. Comparisons here are based on organizational and historical questions that have dominated the minds of several oppositions for women's representation in 'instrumental' careers rather than the typical stereotype jobs as being a teacher, nurse, librarian or clerks. It would be ideal to say that there has been considerable acceptance of women as Doctors or lawyers even as an entrepreneur but to conceive of an 'image of women' with a gun in her hand fighting the odds for men, women and children on the streets is still a force to reckon with.

These two important facets dominate the aura of the literature survey and has greatly enhanced the objective and subjective values in balance with the aspirations of this thesis. However, all a study could aspire is
nearing close to its focal research instead of seeking for perfection, hence
the researcher can claim its relevance as providing more than
groundwork possible for any such future researches.
1. Frances Heidensohn is a professor of social policy at Goldsmith's college, university of London. His book known as 'women in control' marks a leap forward in explaining the progression of women in the 'unfeminine' career of policing.

2. 'Police Women's experiences: Are they telling the same story? Canada-USA-Australia, Sergeant Cory Slaughter 1999' Human Rights watch pg:5

3. Emile Durkheim first major work 'Division of Labour in society' [1893] rests on the important distinction he drew between 'Mechanical' and 'Organic' solidarity. His argument was that while in small scale societies, with only limited division of labour, people were bound together by similarity and a common collective conscience, in more complex societies with an advanced division of labour, this division of labour itself acted as the basis of social integration.

4. Weber, Max[1864-1920], German economist, historian and an important classical sociologist expounded the notion of social action going further into derivation of legitimacy or authority within different societies.

5. Perhaps seen as a poststructuralist, Michel Foucault explained the basis of social control. Although he would not have seen himself as a sociologist, Foucault's historical study of madness [madness and civilization, 1962] in [History of sexuality, 1979] have been of great
interest to sociologists. He challenges the idea that knowledge leads to liberation. Instead, knowledge is seen more often as the basis of new means of social control [discipline and punish, 1976].

6. In the decade following Higgins' article on 'New sociology of welfare', new force has been added to this message by series of others contribution, notably from female analysts but also from new right theorists and from critics of child care policies, racism, and community care.

7. This aspect is in response to the first of modern 'second-wave' feminist writers emphasizing upon the invisibility of women in a whole range of sociological studies and sought to remedy the gap by including women in work in the main fields of the discipline.

8. According to Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox, Bio-grammars are in part inherited from man's primate ancestors; in part they have developed during man's existence in hunting and gathering bands. Hence, it is reasonable to assume this, to some degree. He is genetically adapted to this way of life.

9. According to George Peter Murdock, women are at no disadvantage, however in lighter tasks, which can be performed in or near home, e.g. the gathering of vegetable products, the fetching of water, the preparation of food, the manufacture of clothing and utensils.

10. According to Parsons, who was a notary in defining 'expressive/instrumental functions to stabilize the social system.
Expressive comes near to care comfort and value attached functions, the systems being family and other non profit bodies instrumental is more oriented to profitable areas where rationality, commercial ventures could be taken into account.

11. Bowlby, John is another proponent of the biological theory examining the role of women and in particular, their roles as mothers, from a psychological perspective. Like Parsons, he argues that a mothers place is in the home, caring for their children especially during their early years.

12. As explained by Friedl, every society has differing parameters of judging a male like or female like tasks. For a few societies, the jobs considered to be naturally fit for women are male specializations as it might have good remuneration attached to it. Like cooking, all over the world the number of male chefs outnumbers females due to the profit attached to the job.

13. The 'second class' status attached to women all over the world could be explained from the nature of division of labour within different societies. Lower representation of women in powerful and male oriented jobs and other cases of unequal opportunity scale reflects to a certain degree, the malfunctioning of society.

14. First world war brought about an urgency to incorporate the rights of womanhood by large. There was widespread commotion amongst the larger group of women in terms of safety and security. Hence, a
pressure on government to initiate women’s moral reform and security measures.

15. Rulers like Queen Victoria are known as those who are instrumental in enforcing the strict law of patriarchy and governance especially designed to submerge the status of women.

16. ‘Gender issues’ have become a vital phenomena in the area of research since the advent of 21st century. The glorious saga of ‘protective garb’ on women’s issues have paved way for many a theoretical perspective as a good step towards the research on total emancipation of women.

17. With the collapse of “sisterhood” and Marxism, there have emerged different theoretical perspectives on postmodern feminism that takes into account a rather mix and match approach. They provide details relating from past to present and the future scenario. Hence, post modernity is seen as involving such features as a world of ‘flux, flow and fragmentation’, without absolute values, encouraging a free flow of plurality of viewpoints.

18. There are innumerable citations and case studies that account for crime within police custody and by policemen against victimized women. It is ironical to assess a situation where law and order victimizes the person concerned against her wishes. I will cite relevant issues to prove the same in my next few chapters displaying a growing concern for crime against women by our law- makers and custodian
19. It is often ascertained by many a psychologists that women have an innate tendency towards stability and security, they get displeased by the amount of chaos around them and sense of security too is present more in women than men, hence, they, by nature hate crime, war and anything that dismantles their state of peacefulness and orderliness.'

The Sovereign's vigilant eye: daily policing and women in Rio-De-Janeiro, 1907-1930


21. George Herbert Mead, the profounder of symbolic interactionism and a US pragmatist philosopher based the idea that self emerges from social interaction. That is, humans by ‘taking the role of others’ internalized the attitude of real and imagined others [significant others].

22. Gender identity is in sense of self- associated with cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity. Gender identity in the sense arises out of a complex process of interaction between self and others.

23. Androgynous personality according to noted psychologist Sandra Bem, characterizes both facets of masculine and feminine characteristics. Often, this personality is better appreciated as it can flexibly mould into the present times when the so called patriarchy is tending to marginalize the existence of independent womanhood.
24. Theodore Caplow, a noted American sociologist, assigned and highlighted the several dimensions of the relegation of women within occupational structure. He laid the case upon the expressive roles designed by society especially for women to be the primary cause of their relegation in the lower rung of occupational ladder.

25. Sue Sharpe believed that they would find it difficult if not impossible to be accepted for employment termed as ‘male like professions’. She further assesses that the girls in her research study ‘lack the confidence, the opportunities and the desire to challenge the strict divisions of work’.

26. Women’s liberation movement which begun in America in the 1960’s was probably the first concrete step forward towards the cause of women’s total emancipation and acknowledgement of civil rights.

27. There is still a controversy regarding acknowledgement of police services in the ‘professional manifolds’. Often it has been contrasted with other public related professions like medicine and law observed under strict tenets of profession. Since, policing is near to the state and welfare of society it has been accepted somewhat within the professional ethics.